5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 563 fact a family concern where it is considered more economical to employ the daughter of the family in menial work than a Senegalese. To counter this the Senegalese Government has studiously avoided any open declaration on the undesirability of this situation, but by a series of discriminatory [651] taxes hopes to make the position of the marginal *petit blanc* untenable. In this way it is hoped that European employment will be reduced by half within the next four years. Thus whilst the European population of Senegal was given [167] as 46,500 in 1956, about 40,000 in 1960, the Government hopes to have it reduced to about 30,000 by 1965.

[655] One of the ways in which the Government is attempting to overcome the twin problem of European domination of [471] commerce and the lack of private indigenous capital, is the establishment of state trading companies and co-operatives to compete in the marketing of ground-nuts and other basic Senegalese products. Also in order to reduce Senegal's dependence on expatriate technicians and minor [874] functionaries it is expanding technical education and spending considerable sums on the training of Africans overseas. In the initial stages this will only remove those Europeans who were doing jobs that can easily be taken over by Senegalese once they have received basic training. There is no reason to suppose that the European Community will diminish by much more than the numbers cited above envisaged by the planners, since the anticipated expansion of the Senegalese economy under the four-year plan should be able to absorb the marginal cases who might otherwise have been forced to return to France. Nor indeed is it the intention of the Senegalese to get rid of the Europeans for the sake of getting rid of them, since the Government still maintains that the two groups can co-exist to their mutual benefit but that it must prevent the seeds of racial tension from germinating.

563 There is of course amongst the young and particularly among students some difference of opinion over this matter. [208] Not all of them hold such liberal views, particularly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

school leavers who characterise every West African town from Dakar to Douala, and whose numbers will increase in future under the new plan, since by 1964-65 it is hoped over 50 per cent of children of school age will be at primary school.

The whole plan is to cost £135 million, much of the money to be drawn from abroad, and much from private sources. As can be seen from the table below the emphasis is on social improvement rather than the creation of great gesture industries.

	Percentages	
	Of public investments	*Of total investments*
Infrastructure	33·9	18·75
Agriculture	18·0	13·4
Commerce and Industry ..	7·0	44·4
Education	12·2	6·7
Health	5·3	2·9
Housing	7·2	10·9
Administrative	5·5	3·0

It is a socialist plan at heart. The state will be taking over large sectors of the economy. Already the state trading organisation for the marketing of ground-nuts with the aid of local co-operatives has taken over the marketing of over a quarter of the crop from private commerce. But it is doing this in direct competition with them, to ensure that the organisation is commercially viable. Senghor believes 'Where private capitalism comes into peaceful competition with socialism, the latter must, I feel sure, emerge triumphant . . .'

On the other hand Senegal is not trying to discourage private enterprise, for, as can be seen from the above table, it accounts for much of the capital for the plan. Indeed, particularly favourable concessions are made to it. What

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

hair fixed on either side of the head, from which they protrude like thin curled horns. Another trick is to fix balls of black velvet or twists of black sisal. Strands of soft black silk are commonly used in their coiffure today, and they hang in nearly every small store, a baffling commodity to those unacquainted with Jollof fashions.

To these wigs the rich and fashionable Jollof woman fixes huge pendants of gold filigree, beautifully worked by the local craftsmen. The really chic touch is a bunch of gold coins—Louis D'Ors, American dollars and Franz-Josephs, or English Guineas—hanging from false plaits over the forehead, preferably coquettishly to one side. Gold is indispensable to their ensemble. A really wealthy Jollof lady seems to be covered with it: great ear-rings, pin brooches, heavy gold rings on the finger, ear-rings and tiny rings placed all round the outside of the ear and Tudor toe-rings.

A Jollof woman spends considerable time on her make-up. Her lips are tattooed with indigo, sometimes even on their pink insides. A thin blue line is tattooed on to the lower eyelid, immediately under the lashes, making her eyes seem much larger than they are. Eyelashes are painted with black dye, and the white palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are stained black as well. Their long, bejewelled fingers are crowned with nails painted with red nail varnish or an orange stain.

This ensemble gives the Jollof woman something of the gracious artificiality of appearance that marked the fashions of the Empire period. Geoffrey Gover,[1] in his book *Africa Dances*, described their behaviour as continually provocative. 'Their movement, their glances, their sighs, their manner of speaking, are all, almost subconsciously, alluring.'

So striking is the Jollof dress that it has been adapted by African women all over the Senegal, and is copied as far distant as Niger and Ivory Coast.

A CULTURAL DILEMMA

Dakar

One evening Arnold and I went to the Théâtre du Palais, a small, neat theatre owned by the Government in the centre of Dakar. We were to see a production of tribal dancing by Sereres

[1] [This should read Gorer--Analyst]